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Preaching *Mudrā* in the Making and Visualization of *Sukhāvātī* in Gandhāran Art

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Abstract:

Two *mudrās* signify preaching in Gandhāran Buddhist art, namely the *abhaya* (-*dāna* or -*hasta*-) *mudrā* and the *dharmacakra* (-*pravartana*-) *mudrā*. The former is original and chronologically precedes the latter. The *dharmacakramudrā* appeared in Gandhāra either under the influence of South Indian art or was independently invented by Gandhāran sculptors. It was first applied, almost exclusively, to the preaching Buddha Amida in *Sukhāvātī* because the *abhayamudrā* has multiple meanings and does not always imply preaching. The new *dharmacakramudrā* replaced the *abhayamudrā* within the imagery of *Sukhāvātī*. It was later applied to independent cultic Buddha and bodhisattva images. This transition is observed in some relief panels depicting the First Sermon of the Buddha Śākyamuni at Sārṇāth.

Keywords:

dharmacakramudrā, *abhayamudrā*, Gandhāra, Amida, *Sukhāvātī*

Introductory Remarks

Buddha's images are characterized by various hand gestures called *mudrās* in Sanskrit (Huntington n.d.). In Gandhāran Buddhist art, cultic images of the Buddha Śākyamuni are often represented by the raised right hand (Fig. 1) called *abhayamudrā* (Ingholt 1957: 111, 114, figs. 210, 225, 229; Yaldiz et al. 2000: 23, fig. 27; Jansen/Luczanits 2008:165, fig. 1). This hand gesture etymologically implies 'reassurance', 'removal of fear', 'fearlessness', 'safety', and so on (Saunders 1960: 55–61; Monier-Williams 1976: 60; Liebert 1976: 1).

As known by those well-versed in West Asian art, the raised right hand gesture was not confined to Gandhāra and Buddhism; it was widely practiced in West Asia and the Mediterranean area (Sugiyama 1970: 12–13, figs. 12–13; Rhi 2013: 2, notes 17, 18). In Arsacid Parthia, this gesture symbolized confidence, friendship, reverence, promise, contract, oath, and prayer (Soma 1977: 11–30, figs. 1–8); Fowlkes-Childs/Seymour 2019: 248, pl. 189). Roman emperors and Christ associated these gestures with addressing others (*adlocutio*) and propagating ideas (*traditio legis*) (L'Orange 1953: 168–169, fig. 117; Saunders 1960: 55–56; Brilliant 1963: 30–31, 91, 119–120, 130–132).

Regardless of whether the Gandhāran *abhayamudrā* was disseminated from West Asia or not, in Gandhāran Buddhist art, the *abhayamudrā* was used to express not only reassurance and similar sentiments, but also several different meanings, such as propagation, prediction, favour (*bienveillance*), reception, controlling, acceptance of donation and homage, teaching, preaching doctrines and law. Alfred Foucher clarified this by stating:

Il (*abhayamudrā*) se sert pour tout, non seulement pour assurer, mais encore pour accepter des dons, pour accueillir ou pour dompter, pour prêcher sa doctrine, pour mettre en branle la roue de la Loi (Foucher 1905: 275–278, 372, 374, 378, 422, 432, 568, 485, 486. 516, figs. 139–141, 198, 212, 220, 277, 278; 1918: 326–329).

However, when it was applied to the preaching Buddha Śākyamuni in the depiction of the First Sermon (Fig. 2) at the Deer Park of Sārnāth (Marshall 1960: pl. 82; Lippe 1970: fig. 14), the *abhayamudrā* undoubtedly meant preaching and teaching (*enseignement*) and not prediction and favour (*bienveillance*) (Foucher 1905: 374, 422, 432, figs. 189, 212, 220).

On the other hand, many Gandhāran Buddha images characterized by the *dharmacakramudrā* (Fig. 3), which symbolizes setting the Wheel of the Law in motion, that is, preaching the Buddhist law or religion, are represented as independent cultic statues (Fig. 4) or on narrative relief panels (Fig. 5) and the Buddha triads (Fig. 6) (Gangoly 1938: fig. 11; Rowland 1948: 183–186, fig. 1; Ingholt 1957: 77–78, 86–87, 91, figs. 101, 125, 135 ; Liebert 1976: 74–75; Ali/Qazi 2008: 216–217, fig. 10.14).

Strangely, there were contemporaneously two types of hand-gestures signifying and symbolizing ‘preaching’. The *abhayamudrā* (preaching) undoubtedly preceded the *dharmacakramudrā* (preaching) in Gandhāran art. In a sense, the *dharmacakramudrā* was dispensable to the Buddha image. However, the *dharmacakramudrā* was later introduced to Gandhāra and added to the *mudrās* of the Buddha and bodhisattva images in Gandhāran art. Therefore, in this paper, I would like to clarify why Gandhāran sculptors dared to employ the *dharmacakramudrā* by investigating two relief panels from Gandhāra.

I The Preaching Buddha Amida and Audience of Bodhisattvas

First, I will introduce the stele (Fig. 7) housed in the Matsuoka Museum of Art, Tokyo.

My previous studies on the Buddha Amida (Amitābha alias Amitāyus) images in Gandhāra, lead to the conclusion that this stele depicts a Paradise (*Sukhāvatī*) of the Amida Buddha where this Buddha is said to preach the law to bodhisattvas and arhats or his disciples (聴經供養、T12. no. 361. 287c, 288a, no. 362. 307a, c; Miyaji 1994: 105, pl. 16; NHK 1998: 153, pl. 122; Ryukoku University Museum 2012: 110, pl. 100; Tanabe 2019; 2020). The *Larger and Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtras depict the Buddha Amitābha as preaching the law surrounded by innumerable bodhisattvas and disciples in *Sukhāvatī* (*na khalu punar ānanda sa tathāgato ’īto, nānāgataḥ | api tv eṣa sa tathāgato ’nuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddha, etarhi tiṣṭhati dhriyate yāpayati, dharmam ca deśayati | paścimāyāṃ diśitaḥ koṭīnayutaśatasahasratame buddhakṣetre sukhāvatyāṃ loka[p. 32]dhātāv amitābho nāma tathāgato ’rhan samyaksambuddho, ’parimāṇair bodhisattvaiḥ parivṛtaḥ puraskṛto, ’nantaiḥ śrāvakair anantyā buddhakṣetrasaṃpadā samanvāgataḥ ||*) (Fujita 2011: 31–32; Kagawa 1993: 176–177).

On this stele, a preaching Buddha with a bare right shoulder and raised right hand, that is unfortunately lost but probably was the *abhayamudrā*, is seated on an inverted lotus throne surrounded by 20 celestial bodhisattvas who are, as a rule, decorated with round nimbus (*mukhamaṇḍala*) as well as worshipping deities in the Tuṣita Heaven depicted on a relief panel (Fig. 8) from Sikri stūpa (Foucher 1918: 369; Ingholt 1957: 51, fig. 8). The lotus throne that might have emerged from the lotus pond was employed exclusively to signify the celestial and transcendent world of the Buddha Amida where deceased Buddhists are expected to be reborn. This is clearly proven by the fact that none of the Gandharan relief

panels depicting the Buddha Śākyamuni's life story features a lotus throne on which this terrestrial and historical Buddha is seated, except the 'buddha-to-be- Śākyamuni (釈迦牟尼)' living in the Tuṣita Heaven (Fig. 8).

Additionally, the Śākyamuni Buddha could not be represented along with so many celestial nimbate bodhisattvas because he is always represented on Gandhāran relief panels surrounded by his non-nimbate disciples and lay Buddhists (Fig. 3), instead of celestial nimbate bodhisattvas (Ingholt 1957: figs. 96–98, 104, 189–194). Therefore, if the Buddha seated on a lotus throne is depicted surrounded by celestial nimbate bodhisattvas on Gandhāran relief panels or cultic steles, such an imagery is likely to be related to Mahāyāna Buddhism, because mainstream Buddhism does not believe in the existence of such celestial bodhisattvas. For example, Mizuho Sugimoto correctly remarked that the lotus throne resulted from the light symbolism of Mahāyāna *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* (Sugimoto 2018: 40–41, 44–45). There can be no doubt that the central preaching Buddha depicted on this stele (Fig. 7) is not the Buddha Śākyamuni or the Buddha Maitreya but one of Mahāyāna fictitious Buddhas, most likely the Buddha Amida who was invented and venerated by the Mahāyānists in Gandhāra as the Gāndhārī text of the *Amitābhavyūha* sūtra or the *Larger Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra suggests (Nattier 2007: 382–386, 390; Karashima 2013: 123; 2014: 452, 465–469; Tanabe 2019; 2020). In any case, the lotus throne and the right bare shoulder depicted on this stele seems like precursory attributes of the preaching Buddha images in many Gandhāran Amida triads (Fig. 6).

There are 20 celestial bodhisattvas are arranged in 2 registers following a vertical perspective. However, they are either seated or standing on the same level. Some of them are listening to the Buddha (sermon), while others are indifferent to him. Some of them are paying homage to the Buddha, while others are meditating. Two bodhisattvas are seen holding long garlands (cf. Ingholt 1957: figs. 255, 256; Harrison/Luczanits 2012: figs. 1, 2, 7–9). The behavior and attitude of every bodhisattva differs from one another. Such varied behavior of bodhisattvas surrounding the Buddha Amida is described in the two earliest Chinese translations of the *Larger Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra translated by Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian from the late second to the first half of the third century CE (T12. no. 361, 285c; no. 362, 305c; Karashima 2003: 27–28; 2014: 465). All of them behave and enjoy as freely as they want (皆自然随意在所欲喜樂, 随意所欲喜樂).

Therefore, the depiction of the 20 celestial, anonymous bodhisattvas corresponds more or less to the textual descriptions of both these Chinese translations. The same holds true of the facial features of celestial bodhisattvas. The two relevant Chinese translations say that all the bodhisattvas and arhats in the Amida field (*kṣetra*) are equally handsome with the same beautiful and noble face and colour (其諸菩薩阿羅漢 面目皆端正 清潔絕好 悉同一色 無有偏醜惡者) (T12. no. 361, 283a ; no. 362. 303c; Karashima 2000: 102; cf. Gómez 1996: 88).

Another vital element of this stele can be found in a bodhisattva (Fig. 9) depicted in the lower register and to the proper left of the seated Buddha (Fig. 7). He is seated on an inverted lotus throne raising two fingers of the right hand that represent colloquy/ dialogue/ conversation (Foucher 1905: 568, fig. 277; Santoro 1986: 53, pl. III; Tanabe 2016: 1–7, figs. 1–4). This unique hand gesture establishes that this bodhisattva is asking the Buddha Amida some questions, which he is expected to respond to. The Buddha Amida did not use the *dharmacakramudrā* but undoubtedly used the *abhaymudrā*. However, the hand gesture of

colloquy/dialogue/conversation demonstrates that he is obviously preaching or explaining the Buddhist law (*dharma*), monastic principles, various teachings, and so on to the audience. A bodhisattva with two raised fingers of the right hand is depicted beside the preaching Buddha on the second register from the bottom in the Muhammad Nari stele in the Lahore Museum (Ingholt 1957: 121–123, fig. 225; Jansen/Luczanits 2008: Cat. no. 75; Cambon/Giès 2010: 148, pl. 75). Another relief panel housed in the Peshawar Museum depicts the god Indra using the hand gesture with two raised fingers of the right hand when Brahmā and Indra (Fig. 10) entreat the Buddha Śākyamuni to preach hard-won knowledge to mankind (Ingholt 1957: 120, fig. 253; Marshall 1960: pl. 89; cf. Foucher 1905: figs. 277, 278).

The *abhaya-mudrā* supposed to be used by this Buddha has the same function as the *dharmacakramudrā* because the former gesture originally and symbolically meant propagating the law as aforementioned (Saunders 1960: 56). According to Monika Zin, the same holds true of the *abhayamudrā* depicted on Amarāvātī and Nāgārjunakonda relief panels (Zin 2018: 7, figs. 2, 3, 6).

That is why the *abhayamudrā* was employed to symbolize preaching of the Buddhist law by the Śākyamuni Buddha in the scene (Fig. 3) of the First Sermon (Ingholt 1957: fig. 76; Lippe 1970: 20, fig. 14; Kurita 2003: figs. 280–281). However, on this relief panel, a wheel or deer was added to the scene to clarify its significance and the location where this episode took place. Without this, nobody would be able to understand that this scene depicts the First Sermon of the Buddha Śākyamuni at Sārnāth.

Regarding the Matsuoka Museum of Art stele (Fig. 7), the *abhayamudrā* was also employed to depict a preaching Buddha. However, this scene is not concerned with the Śākyamuni's preaching but with the celestial and transcendent Buddha Amida as I already mentioned. However, unfortunately, there is no episode associated with the Buddha Amida, such as the First Sermon at the Deer Park of Sārnāth. Consequently, a wheel and deer could not be employed for his preaching scene.

Without a wheel or deer, only the *abhayamudrā* cannot sufficiently convey the notion of preaching. To make people clearly understand that this scene represents the preaching by the Buddha Amida, a substitute for a wheel and deer or a new *mudrā* was needed. The *dharmacakramudrā* did not exist at the time when this stele was created. Therefore, the sculptor could not help but employ the already prevalent *abhayamudrā* despite knowing that without a wheel and deer, this *mudrā* would not always appropriately symbolize preaching because the *abhayamudrā* had several different connotations.

To make it precisely imply preaching the law or Buddhist doctrine by the Buddha Amida, the sculptor could not help but add the hand gesture of dialogue/colloquy/conversation to a bodhisattva sitting by the Buddha Amida's side. Through this hand gesture, the meaning of this stele became clear and crystallized. However, the *dharmacakramudrā* was still in the making.

II The Preaching Buddha Amida and Audience of Bodhisattvas

It is evident by now that some problems must have surfaced when Gandhāran sculptors were confronted with the necessity of visualizing *Sukhāvatī*, where the non-historical Buddha Amida is preaching. As *Sukhāvatī* is different from the Jambudvīpa, where we live and the Buddha Śākyamuni lived, Gandhāran sculptors were asked to create a new celestial and transcendent imagery endowed with artistic motifs necessary for figuratively realizing

Sukhāvatī, the land of bliss.

In my opinion, one such artistic motif is the lotus throne emerging from the lotus pond; the other is the *dharmacakramudrā*. I already clarified the rationale behind using the lotus throne exclusively for the *Sukhāvatī* imagery. Hence, I will confine myself to the making of the *dharmacakramudrā*.

To clarify that this *mudrā* was introduced into Gandhāran Buddhist iconography especially in relation to the preaching Amida Buddha, I will consider the complex stele (Fig. 11) housed in the Ancient Orient Museum. This stele depicts a nimbate Buddha wrapped with mandorla (*prabhāvalī*, *vyāmaprabhāmaṇḍala*, 丈光相, *vyāmaprabhā lakṣaṇa*) in a *dharmacakramudrā* with both shoulders covered with *saṃghātī*. He is seated on the lotus throne below a fantastic canopy composed of heavenly flowers (Foucher 1918: 369, notes 1-2, figs. 459, 463; Lamotte 1944: 454–455, note 1; Liebert 1976: 223). A Japanese Buddhologist, Kimiaki Tanaka, correctly identified this preaching Buddha as the Buddha Amida (Tanaka 2016: figs. 1–3, 5, 7). I agree with his identification based on the mandorla/aureole that visualizes radiance (*vyāmaprabhā*) emitted from the Buddha's entire body (*sarvakāyāt*) (Lamotte 1944: 440, 434, 453, 454). I believe that the mandorla/aureole is intimately related to the infinite light (*amitābha*) emitted by the Buddha Amida (Tanabe 2020: 216, 218–219, pl. 20-figs.14, 15; 2021b, forthcoming, figs. 1, 8, 16, 18). Thus, we might say that the Gandhāran preaching Buddha image with mandorla/aureole is, as a rule, identified as the Buddha Amitābha and those without it as the Buddha Amitāyus (infinite life), even though this classification appears simplified and arbitrary and requires further scrutiny. However, this typological classification perfectly corresponds with the two names of the Buddha Amida (Amitābha and Amitāyus) and can be corroborated by the existence of two kinds of preaching Buddha images in the Gandhāran Amida triads (Vogel 1906: pl. LXVIII-b; Brough 1982: 69; Salomon/Schopen 2002: fig. 1; Harrison/Luczanits 2012: figs. 1–2, 6–18).

The Buddha Amida (Amitābha) is surrounded by 12 nimbate celestial bodhisattvas, who are the audience of this Buddha in *Sukhāvatī*, as I already clarified in my previous articles (Tanabe 2019, 2020, 2021b). To his right and left, he is attended by two seated bodhisattvas who are to evolve into the pair of Mahāsthāmaprāpta/Maitreya/Maṇjuśrī and the pensive Avalokitasvara/Avalokiteśvara in Gandhāran Amida triads, as I will demonstrate in my forthcoming article to be published by the *Japan Society for Hellenistic-Islam Archaeological Studies* 2020 (Miyaji/Yamada 1985: pls. IX-1, XI-1; Brough 1982: 69; Salomon/Schopen 2002: fig. 1; Harrison /Luczanits 2012: figs. 12, 17; Tanabe 2021b). Such a pensive bodhisattva image might have been modelled after those two meditating celestial bodhisattvas depicted on the Matsuoka Museum of Art stele (Fig. 7).

The reason why this new *dharmacakramudrā* was applied to a preaching Buddha is clear. It is because the meaning of *abhayamudrā* was ambiguous and, consequently, inappropriate for definitively and clearly visualizing the preaching of the Buddha. Furthermore, Gandhāran sculptors could not use auxiliary artistic motifs, such as wheel and deer because they were already assigned to the historical and terrestrial Buddha Śākyamuni preaching in this world and not applicable to the celestial and transcendent Buddha Amida presiding in the other world of *Sukhāvatī*.

Therefore, a new *mudrā* was needed by Gandhāran sculptors. Did they strive to invent a new preaching *mudrā*? This is plausible because the *abhayamudrā* had so many meanings that it was urgent for them to invent or create the primary *dharmacakramudrā* (Joshi 1991:

73). However, I have not found concrete evidence to prove this yet.

The other solution is external influence, for instance, from South India (Foucher 1928:19-21; Taddei 1999–2000: figs. 1–2, 2003: 571–577, figs. 1–6; Neelis 2011: 214–218, map. 3.3). Regarding this, Monika Zin conducted an important study on a *mudrā* strikingly similar in shape to the *dharmacakramudrā* depicted on Nāgārjunakoṇḍa relief panels (Zin 2021). Unfortunately, since her article is still in the process of being published, I cannot discuss it extensively. However, according to Zin’s argumentation based on concrete evidence, it appears likely that the Gandhāran *dharmacakramudrā* originated from South Indian Andhra art and was imported from there to Gandhāra from the late second to early third century CE. Additionally, Paul Harrison and Christian Luczanits suggest Andhra origin of the lotus throne, remarking that the occurrence of lotus throne is better documented in the art of Andhra, that is, Amarāvātī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and related sites that do not predate the late second or early third century CE (Harrison/Luczanits 2012: 81–82; note 38–39; Stone 1994: figs. 22, 92, 110, 112, 115, 118, 145, 148, 149, 152, 153). However, since the shape of the lotus thrones of Andhra are completely different from those of Gandhāra, and the Gandhāran lotus thrones seem to predate those of Andhra, the South Indian origin of the lotus throne theory needs further scrutiny (cf. Gandhāran influence in South India, Ishikawa 2020: 169-178, 191-193). The same holds true of *dharmacakramudrā*.

In any case, the *dharmacakramudrā* was first applied to the Buddha Amida in *Sukhāvatī* and later to big cultic independent images of the Buddhas, including that of the Śākyamuni and Maitreya as far as Gandhāran Buddhist art is concerned.

Lastly, regarding this stele (Fig. 10), I must mention that both shoulders of the Buddha Amida covered with *saṃghātī* (通肩) are exceptional compared to the bare right shoulder (偏袒右肩) of many images of the seated Buddha Amida of Gandhāra (Ingholt 1957: 245–251, 253–255, 257–259, 261; Harrison/Luczanits 2012: figs. 1–2, 6–12, 14–17). Although the bare right shoulder is almost combined with the *dharmacakramudrā* in the Gandhāran Amida triads, there are at least two steles known to depict a preaching Buddha with both shoulders covered, seated on the lotus throne in a *dharmacakramudrā* (Ingholt 1957: figs. 252, 256). Therefore, we might say that this type of a preaching Buddha with both shoulders covered follows the traditional clothing of Gandhāran Śākyamuni Buddha images, while the right shoulder bare kind (Fig. 6) is an innovation for the Buddha Amida image probably under the influence of Mathurā.

III Dharmacakramudrā in the Scenes of the First Sermon at Sārnāth

To corroborate the transition from the *abhayamudrā* to the *dharmacakramudrā* in Gandhāra, I will discuss three unique relief panels that depict the First Sermon at Sārnāth. The first (Fig. 12) depicting the Temptation by Māra and his daughters (above), the Assault by Māra, and the First Sermon at Sārnāth (below) (Ryukoku University Museum 2012: 25, pl. 6; Bopearachchi 2020: vol. I, 115–117, Cat. No. 130, vol. II, 333). The First Sermon is precisely represented by the preaching Buddha with the bare right shoulder and in a *dharmacakramudrā* as well as a wheel but without deer. Compared to the original First Sermon (Fig. 3), this imagery progressed or evolved by adopting the *dharmacakramudrā*. However, it still maintains the depiction of a wheel to precisely convey preaching.

The second (Fig. 13) depicts the three episodes: the Assault by Māra and the Enlightenment, the Offering by Traṇḍiśa and Bhallika, and the First Sermon (Bopearachchi 2016: 28,

fig. 3). In the last scene, the preaching Buddha Śākyamuni with the bare right shoulder is depicted in the *dharmacakramudrā* with a wheel.

These two relief panels prove that the depiction of the Buddha preaching shifted from the *abhayamudrā* to the *dharmacakramudrā* without deer.

The same transition can be observed on a stupa drum relief panel (Fig. 14) where the seated Buddha and bodhisattva images are juxtaposed (Zwalf 1996: vol. I, 13, vol. II, fig. 122). On the right, the preaching Buddha Śākyamuni with a bare right shoulder is depicted in the *dharmacakramudrā* attended by a monk and Vajrapāṇi, his perpetual guard. He is seated not on the lotus throne, but on so-called *klinē* (κλινῆ) or couch that is exclusively employed for the bodhisattva and Buddha Śākyamuni and Maitreya in Gandhāran art. Therefore, he is undoubtedly identified as the Buddha Śākyamuni accompanied by Vajrapāṇi. This image again corroborates my assertion that the lotus throne symbolizes the seat of the Buddha Amida in Gandhāran art (cf. Taddei 1979: 399–400, fig. 6).

Concluding Remarks

From the discussion thus far, it is evident that the *dharmacakramudrā* was first employed to represent the preaching Buddha Amida (Amitābha) in *Sukhāvatī*. Subsequently, the *dharmacakramudrā* was adopted for independent cultic images of the Buddha and bodhisattva. Furthermore, it replaced the *abhayamudrā* in the scene of the First Sermon of the Buddha Śākyamuni at Sārnāth (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1995: 208, pl. 198).

If Pure Land Buddhism based on the faith in the Buddha Amida had not come into existence in Gandhāra, the *dharmacakramudrā* would not have appeared in Gandhāra and applied to the Gandhāran Buddha and bodhisattva images. To sum up, the imagery of the Buddha Amida and *Sukhāvatī* played a decisive role in adopting or creating the *dharmacakramudrā* and also possibly the lotus throne in Gandhāra regardless of whether that *mudrā* and lotus throne were imported from South India or independently created in Gandhāra.

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Abbreviation

T: *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經) edited by J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, Tokyo, 1924–1934.

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Sources of the Illustrations

- Figs. 1, 3, 4 Author’s photos
 Fig. 2 Lippe 1970, pl.14, fig. 14
 Fig. 5 After Tokyo National Museum, *The Art of Gandhara, Pakistan*, pl. 28
 Fig. 6 After Tokyo National Museum, *Indian Buddhist Art from Indian Museum, Kolkata*, 2015, pl. 21
 Fig. 7, 9 Ryukoku University Museum 2012, pl. 100
 Fig. 8 Courtesy of Muhammad Hameed
 Fig. 10 Courtesy of Kimiaki Tanaka and Fujita Archives
 Fig. 11 Courtesy of the Ancient Orient Museum
 Fig. 12 Ryukoku University 2012, pl. 6
 Fig. 13 Courtesy of Osmund Bopearachchi
 Fig. 14 Zwalf 1996, vol. II, fig. 122

PLATE 18

Fig. 1: Standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā*, H: 102 cm, Washington Asiatische Museum, Berlin



Fig. 2: First Sermon, H: 67 cm, Freer Gallery of Art,



Fig. 3: Gandhāran *dharmacakramudrā*

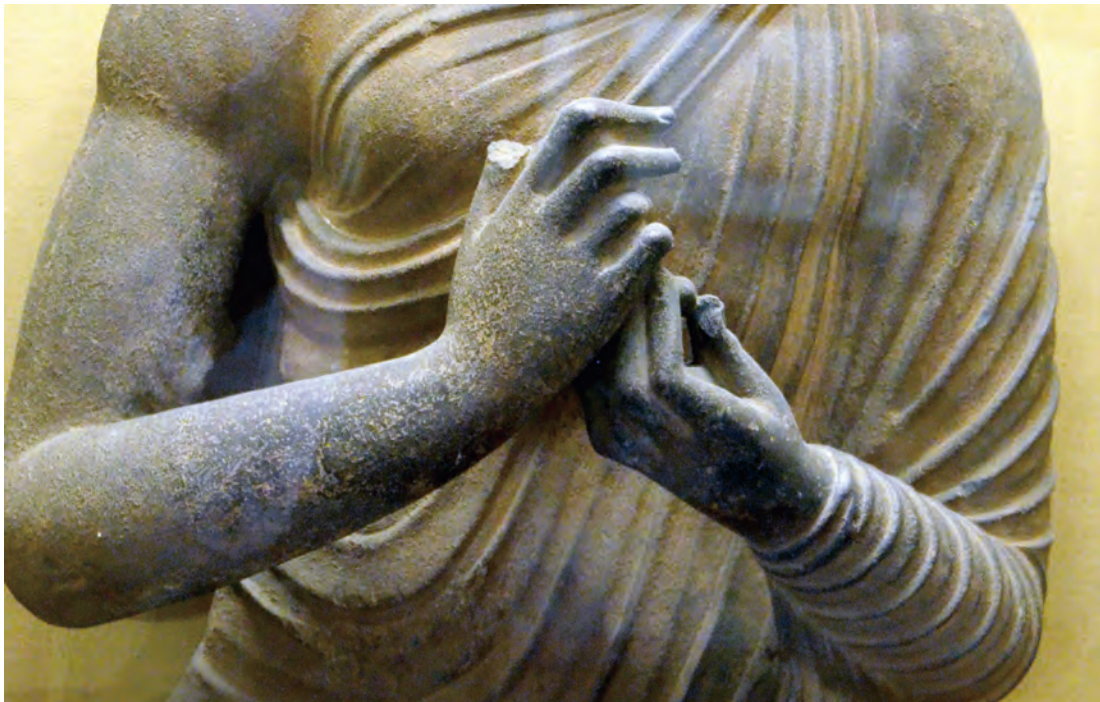


Fig. 4: Seated Buddha in *dharmacakramudrā*, H: 96 cm, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi



Fig. 5: King Udayana presenting a Buddha image to the Buddha Śākyamuni, H: 30 cm, Peshawar Museum



Fig. 6: Gandhāran Amida triad, H: 39 cm, Indian Museum, Kolkata



PLATE 20

Fig. 7: Buddha Amida preaching in *Sukhāvātī*, H: 37 cm, Matsuoka Museum of Art, Tokyo



Fig. 8: Buddha-to-be in *Tuṣita* Heaven, H: 33 cm, Lahore Museum



Fig. 9: Bodhisattva raising the two fingers, detail of Fig. 7



Fig. 10: Amida triad with Brahmā and Indra, H: 54 cm, Peshawar Museum



Fig. 11: Buddha Amida preaching in *Sukhāvātī*, H: 64 cm, Ancient Orient Museum, Tokyo



Fig. 12: First Sermon, Ryukoku University Museum



Fig. 13: First Sermon, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco



Fig. 14: Buddha Śākyamuni in *dharmacakramudrā* and Bodhisattva Maitreya in *abhayamudrā*, H: 18 cm, British Museum

